

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TOKYO 01033 241629Z

51

ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SAJ-01 SAM-01 IO-10 OMB-01

ACDA-05 EB-07 NIC-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 /093 W

----- 027202

R 240937Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7547

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 1033

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CH, JA

SUBJECT: SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS

REF: TOKYO 0359

SUMMARY: VISIT BY DIETMAN HORI TO PRC SEEMS TO HAVE MODERATED
OPPOSITION IN CONSERVATIVE WING OF LDP TO COURSE OF STEADY
IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS WITH PEKING, INCLUDING EARLY CON-
CLUSION OF FRIENDSHIP TREATY. FONOFF BELIEVES OPPONENTS OF
TREATY MAY HAVE BEEN OUTMANEUVERED AND EXPECTS EARLY PROGRESS
IN NEGOTIATIONS. DURING HORI'S VISIT, CHOU EN-LAI WARMLY
ENDORSED INTIMATE US-JAPAN RELATIONS AS WELL AS CALLING
FOR STEADY IMPROVEMENT IN PRC-JAPAN TIES. AUSPICIOUS
ATMOSPHERE IN PRC-JAPAN RELATIONS CONTRASTS MARKEDLY WITH
JAPAN-SOVIET RELATIONS. "EQUIDISTANCE" IN JAPAN'S RELATIONS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 TOKYO 01033 241629Z

WITH TWO COMMUNIST STATES MAY BE OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS.

END SUMMARY.

1. PAST TWO WEEKS HAVE OCCASIONED CLEAR ADVANCE IN PRC-JAPAN RELATIONS. RECEPTION GIVEN DIETMAN SHIGERU HORI DURING HIS VISIT TO PRC TIED MORE CONSERVATIVE WING OF LDP AS WELL AS MIKI GOVERNMENT TO POLICY OF PROMOTING STEADY PROGRESS IN PRC-JAPAN RELATIONS. CHINESE EVIDENTLY CHARMED HORI, LDP INFO CHAIRMAN TSUBOKAWA AND DIETMAN TAGAWA, NOTABLY WITH SEVENTY-MINUTE MEETING WITH CHOU EN-LAI WHERE SINO-JAPANESE, JAPAN-US RELATIONS, AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ISSUES WERE DISCUSSED. CHOU'S FELICITOUS REMARKS, QUOTED BY HORI TO PRESS, SET TONE FOR RELATIONS IN COMING MONTHS. CONFIRMATION OF CHOU'S POSITION IN NPC ALSO PROVIDED REASSURANCES TO JAPANESE ABOUT FUTURE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND PRC.

2. BOUYED BY VIBRATIONS FROM PEKING, FONOFF CHINA DIV DEP DIRECTOR OGURA TOLD US HURDLES OUTLINED TWO WEEKS EARLIER (REFTEL) APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN LARGELY OVERCOME. GOJ HAS DECIDED AT TOP LEVEL TO PROCEED WITH NEGOTIATIONS OF FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH PEKING. EFFORTS BY THOSE WHO THOUGHT TREATIES SHOULD BE NEGOTIATED SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH PRC AND USSR WERE UNDERCUT BY UNEVENTFUL VISIT TO MOSCOW BY FONMIN MIYAZAWA. OGURA SAID RUSSIAN OFFICIALS, EXCLUDING FONMIN GROMYKO, COMMENTED SEVERAL TIMES ON "COINCIDENCE" OF MIYAZAWA'S AND HORI'S VISITS. LDP SECRETARY GENERAL NAKASONE TOLD PRESS JAN 22 THAT GOJ WAS PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE TREATY WITH PEKING EVEN BEFORE AIR LING WAS RESTORED WITH TAIWAN. PRESS CITED NAKASONE'S REMARK AS FIRM REJECTION (BY LDP LEADERSHIP) OF CONSERVATIVE LDP DEMANDS FOR RESUMPTION OF AIR LING PRIOR TO COMPLETION TREATY WITH PEKING. OGURA AGREED THIS WAS THE CASE. PRO-TAIWAN LDP EXECUTIVE BOARD CHAIRMAN NADAO DENIED TO PRESS JAN 23 THAT THERE IS A SECRET LDP PROPOSAL TO RESTORE AIR LING.

3. PRC AMB CHEN CHU RETURNED TO PEKING JAN 22, ACCORDING TO DIPLOMATIC NOTE TO FONOFF, "FOR SHORT VISIT". HE IS EXPECTED TO RETURN TO TOKYO WITH PEKING'S RESPONSE TO GOJ IDEAS PRESENTED TO CHEN BY VICE FONMIN TOGO (REFTEL). CONTRARY
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 TOKYO 01033 241629Z

TO SOME PRESS REPORTS, CHOU DID NOT SHELVE TAIWAN ISSUE IN TALKS WITH HORI. TAIWAN WAS NOT DISCUSSED. ON ANOTHER ISSUE APPEARING IN TOKYO'S PRESS, OGURA SAID GOJ WOULD PREFER NOT TO REITERATE PHRASE IN 1972 JOINT COMMUNIQUE OPPOSING HEGEMONY BY THIRD POWER SINCE IT WOULD CLEARLY BE DIRECTED AT USSR, BUT IF CHINESE INSIST, THIS WILL NOT BE OBSTACLE TO CONCLUDING TREATY.

4. HORI VISIT ALSO PROVIDED OCCASION FOR AUSPICIOUS REMARKS IN US DIRECTION AND CUSTOMARY VILIFICATION OF USSR BY PRC OFFICIALS. OGURA SAID CHOU BROUGHT UP US THREE TIMES IN CONVERSATION WITH HORI. CHOU EXPRESSED STRONG SUPPORT FOR CONTINUED INTIMATE TIES BETWEEN US AND JAPAN. HE ADVISED JAPANESE TO INCLUDE US IN SIBERIAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS. THIRDLY, DURING DISCUSSION OF HEGEMONY IN ASIA, CHOU NOTED THAT THE US SIDE HAD PROPOSED INCLUSION IN SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE PHRASE OPPOSING HEGEMONY BY THIRD POWER AND CHINA HAD MERELY ACQUIESCED. CHINESE ALSO ENCOURAGED JAPANESE FOR TACTICAL REASONS TO MOVE AHEAD IN RELATIONS WITH PRC AND PUT PRESSURE ON SOVIET UNION TO BE MORE FORTHCOMING TOWARD JAPAN.

5. IN LIGHT OF EXPECTED QUICK NEGOTIATION OF TREATY WITH PRC, OGURA REASONED THAT TAIPEI WOULD AWAIT DEVELOPMENTS WITH PEKING, PARTICULARLY TO KNOW WHAT TREATY OR STATEMENTS MADE IN CONNECTION WITH TREATY MIGHT SAY ABOUT TAIWAN BEFORE CONSIDERING RESTORATION OF AIR LINK. IN SEPARATE CONVERSATION THIS WEEK WITH MA SHU-LI, HEAD OF TAIWAN'S EXCHANGE ASSN IN TOKYO, MA DISAVOWED TO EMBOFF PRESS REPORTS OF DEVELOPMENTS ON AIR LINK AND SAID ROC WAS IN NO HURRY TO RESTORE THE LINK AND WOULD WAIT ON PROPOSALS FROM JAPANESE.

6. COMMENT: CHINESE HAVE GIVEN JAPANESE FONOFF SIGNIFICANT HELP IN OUTMANEUVERING LDP OPPONENTS TO EARLY CONCLUSION OF TREATY. SOVIETS HAVE DONE THEIR PART, TOO, ALBEIT IN NEGATIVE AND INADVERTANT FASHION. THOUGH THE JAPANESE WILL CLEARLY CONTINUE EFFORTS TO USE IMPROVEMENT IN TIES WITH PRC TO OBTAIN CONCESSIONS FROM SOVIETS, THE CONCEPT OF "EQUIDISTANCE" IN JAPAN'S RELATIONS WITH BOTH COMMUNIST POWERS MAY BE OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 TOKYO 01033 241629Z

HODGSON

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, MINISTERIAL VISITS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 JAN 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: SmithRJ
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975TOKYO001033
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750027-0567
From: TOKYO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750121/aaaaasen.tel
Line Count: 155
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 TOKYO 0359
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: SmithRJ
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <16 JUN 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <23 OCT 2003 by SmithRJ>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS
TAGS: PFOR, CH, JA, (HORI, SHIGERU)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006